2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

525 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides.
857 Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were; if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied
533 the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-
857 rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell—she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

"The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the
[603] testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with
857 their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539
575 At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

[831] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad. Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair
840 was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could
831 not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should
753 any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years.
[725 As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with
789] scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath,
553 our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands
159 of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best
538 horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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PAWNEE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORTUNES: III

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Personal Relationships beyond Kin Ties—Love between Men and Women—Friendships of Girls to Girls, Women to Women, Boys to Boys, and Men to Men—Friendly Interband Kicking Match—the Pawnee Personality Compared with Our Own—Our Loneliness

Love and Friendship

831 572 [602] THE EMOTIONAL LIFE of the Pawnee was not channeled exclusively through kinship categories, but the concepts of love and friendship for their own sake were well recognized. They had a song that stated: "If even worms are inclined to be in love with one another, how can we expect people not to do so?" The statement was starkly simple and left the implication to be understood. It said:

539 831

tsasiri pirus	Even worms
he	(Pause indicating a comma)
witi-tirak-tap-pirihuru	each other-they them-love.

Their love songs were also in a similar vein, nakedly literal and entirely free of metaphor.

A man sings:

1. *tsapat tiwakuhu*	Woman she is saying,
2. *wetatatsiksta*	Now I love you.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rurux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely confined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so preoccupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friendship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to develop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in the following words:

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a [292] sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked